HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 44

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., F.S.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

# GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

BY

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HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

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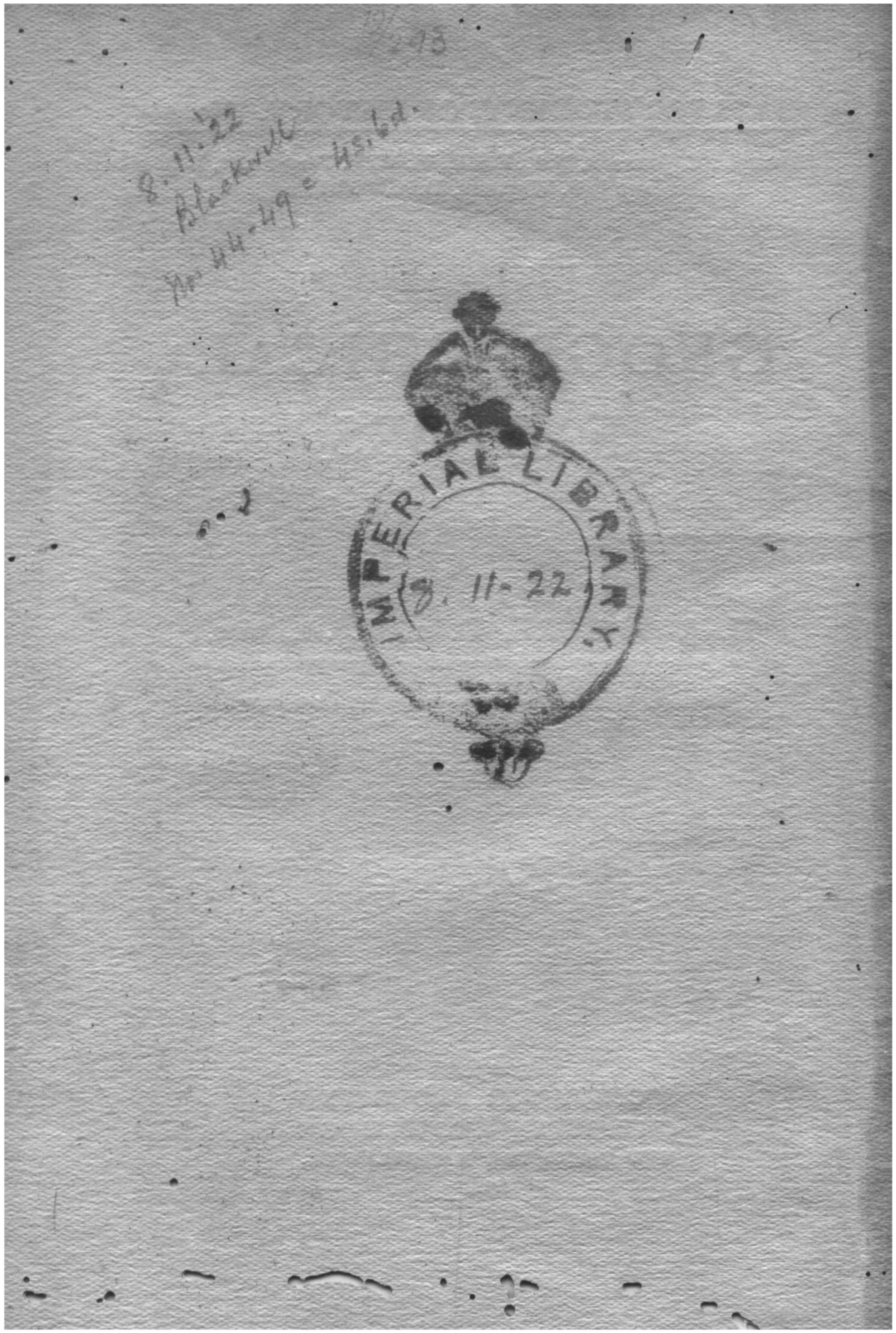
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# GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

## Introductory.

A broad outline view of the fields of history and geography taken together will help us to see how best the study of geography can be made to enrich the sister subject, and if that view leaves us with the feeling that they are not so much sister subjects as aspects of one and the same subject, this will be all to the good. This is urged deliberately because it is felt by not a few students that in the past generation tendencies to specialism have perhaps been over-emphasized in certain directions, and there is no small need at the present time to bring subjects and specialists together. In the particular case in hand, this must be done without allowing geography to degenerate into a mere accessory to history, or *vice versa*. Past experience has shown that geography treated as a mere accessory to history is fatally weakened. It then becomes little more than the finding of places on, at best, a relief-map.

The growth of specialization has almost obscured the fundamental fact of the unbroken continuity of human experience—a continuity in which thought and feeling play upon one another, and combine to produce effects in which it is impossible to dissociate the influence of the one from the influence of the other. We realize increasingly that the whole mind may be concerned in every act, and

that to attempt a logical analysis of parts of the mind, and of their work and influence, may lead us far astray. The study of human experience may therefore be claimed to be a proper province of our activity, and a province wherein specialists in different aspects of the problem must learn from other specialists in order to secure mutual adjustment and the building up of the comprehensive unity which alone will give us an approach to truth.

History is the name of the oldest of the specialisms concerned. It concerns itself with action, and especially with the personalities and thoughts of the chief actors involved; it has been largely concerned with the biography of great men. Geography is the sister specialism which studies the setting of human action, and it has to realize increasingly that, if "all the world's a stage," it is a stage, as Mr. Fairgrieve has said recently, that is never cleared for the next act. The actors always have the décor, and for that matter the débris, of the past round about them, and they have its momentum, and not less its inhibitions, helping to determine their conduct.

Experience is a matter of sequent relations of man and environment, of influences working both ways, directly and indirectly, of environment moulding man and man moulding environment in ways that are complex beyond our powers of analysis. Historians need to realize more fully the influence of environment, its indirect influences perhaps most of all.

We may dissent from the Calvinist view that everything is predetermined, and we may dissent still more strongly from the materialist standpoint which would make circumstance, environment, the

great determinant, and yet we shall all agree that circumstances alter cases.

Environment is a potent influence upon action. Men have built up characteristically different societies in the clearings of the temperate forests of Europe, on the steppe lands of Central Asia, near the riversides of China, and in the oases of North Africa. Geographers, like Lyde and Fairgrieve in England, speak of "controls" of human action, and though others hesitate to use the word "control" because it is in danger of being interpreted by some, not including the above, in a too narrow determinist sense, yet broadly the idea underlying their term is of the utmost importance. When it is used too crudely and without sufficient reference to the general world setting and the working of inherited momentum, it is but too easy to go astray and to "explain" the Vikings of the fjords of Norway as the product of their environment without realizing the limitation of such views due to the fact that the Vikings are also characteristic products of a certain period. They are not a permanent phenomenon as they should be if they were purely the product of environmental conditions. Environmental conditions vary as man's equipment changes and, especially in Norway, the sheer physical climatic conditions have probably also varied remarkably, as Pettersson argues. We thus need, at the very least, the "time" discipline working side by side with the "place" discipline if we are to grasp the essentials of the unfolding of human experience, and so we reach a view of the mutual aid that must develop between historians and geographers. But before we proceed to discuss this mutual aid, let us realize that other disciplines are important contributors as well.

## A Study of Islands used to Illustrate Mutual Help between Geographers, Anthropologists, and Historians.

In her well-known book Miss Semple,* an able disciple of Friedrich Rätzel, makes a courageous effort to weave into the geographic setting the time influences already emphasized. And yet one feels a certain difficulty about her views that can be illustrated by a short discussion of some points she raises about islands. Her chapter on the influences of an island environment emphasizes the precocity of development of civilization in islands under favouring circumstances, and at the same time the possibilities of preservation and survival of antiquity under the protective influences of insularity. She also urges or implies that the close contacts within the confined space of an island will exert strong influences towards fusion or unification of what may originally have been distinct elements in its life; an instance quoted is the supposed physical "homogeneity" of the British peoples based upon the view that the "average cephalic index" varies but little throughout our islands. That uniformity is but uniformity of average, and is partly based on defective data; recent work has shown the diversity to be much greater than was once supposed. But this is not all; it is necessary to realize that averages have but little value when we are dealing with a population in which dissimilar types live side by side; the same average may be made up in many ways. In fine, modern studies have shown that the British people are far from homogeneous, that many types live

* Semple, E. C., *Influences of Geographical Environment.*

side by side, and that these types probably have important relations not only to questions of origin, but also to matters of modern social life, to be worked out only through careful thought about history and geography after patient analysis of the said types. We need, then, the discipline of type as well, and here the sister study of anthropology, physical and social, becomes a contributor.

It will help us to see the three disciplines working together if we look at the question of island environment a little more closely. Since this was written Sir Charles Lucas has discussed the subject of islands in a public lecture entitled "Islands, Peninsulas, and Empire" (*Geographical Teacher*, Spring, 1920). The British Isles are by no means unique in their local diversities. Guernsey has a population of over 40,000, concentrated upon twenty-five square miles of poor soil raised to wonderful productivity by centuries of hard work under a favouring climate. Here might well be unification, if anywhere; but yet one could map the distribution of family names, of subdialects of the old Norman-French *patois*, even of physical types in the population. If this diversity exists between the different parts of little Guernsey, we need not be surprised to find how marked it is in the islands of Lewis, Sicily, Crete, Ceylon, and Madagascar, and so on. An important fact here is that the "world setting" needs to be considered at every step. Islands that are not too remote are distinguished for their different outlooks towards different shores. Settlers and traders from those shores occupy stations on the island, it may be; but such stations often maintain themselves without any marked fusion *inter se*, partly because each has its own link with other lands, partly because none

is possessed of a sufficiently strong base to develop an organization that will assimilate the others completely. In other cases insularity has been a protection from too frequent and too overwhelming invasion, and, as in Britain, some parts retain ancient features of language, etc., which have been destroyed elsewhere. Be it allowed, nevertheless, that some islands do show a marked degree of fusion of elements in feeling at least; such a case is that of Japan.* In that region the long struggle between the Yamato and the aborigines has created a unity of the Yamato, who must originally have included diverse elements. The struggle has gradually pushed northwards the boundary between Hondo and Yezo, and in the process a folk-tradition has grown up which, with a common tongue based on a brotherhood in arms, is the common possession of nearly all the elements of the people of Hondo. The unified Japanese people have, none the less, several diverse strains in their blood, and it would seem that the imperfect accord of widely separate inheritances within the same individual gives the Japanese a certain sensitiveness to climatic differences that prevents him from making a success of Formosa or Sakhalien. Without further argument we may state that the studies of place, time, and type relations of human experience, or geography, history, and anthropology, are all interwoven, and need to be pursued in intimate association with one another for the attainment of really comprehensive truths. Geography alone has been too apt to exaggerate influences of environment. History alone has been too preoccupied with the more

* Roxby, P. M., *The Far Eastern Problem in its Geographical Setting*. Published by the Geographical Association, 1 Marine Terrace, Aberystwyth, 1920. 2s.

obvious statements of chronicles, and too apt to overlook research into the underlying facts and factors of social life which are so largely responsible for the shaping of the events the chronicles record and treaties and settlements attempt to register. Anthropology alone is perpetually harassed by divergent points of view based on rival beliefs in either a parallelism of development in different groups or the transportation of physical and cultural types from region to region.

If this be granted, it becomes our business to see in what ways the place discipline may help the time discipline most effectively towards the ever fuller understanding of human experience.

### Geography Helps by Studying not only Environment, but also Alterations of Environment.

The making of history has its great correlative in the altering of environment. Schrader,* in the recent "Herbertson Lecture" on the "Foundations of Geography in the Twentieth Century," has argued, with typical French clarity, that the immense increase of means and speed of communications has brought all the world face to face, and has been a leading factor of the crisis through which we are passing. The effective environment of each one of us is now nearly the whole world, and many of us have deep prejudices to shed and much to learn ere we become intelligent citizens of that environment. And, as regards past crises of history, the student can usually work back to social and environmental changes which brought them about.

* See *Geographical Teacher*, Summer, 1919, and as a separate publication of the Oxford University Press.

The desiccation of Asia, the wanderings of peoples in the days of the Roman Empire, the clearing of mid-European forests, the growth of territorial societies replacing kinship societies, are all linked up in an endlessly complex way. The essential point throughout is to bear in mind that it is not only the environment, but also the alteration of the environment, that the geographer must consider if he is to co-operate with the historian; and that alteration may be a direct one, due to piercing an isthmus or cutting a forest, or a more indirect one through changes in powers of communication; or it may be of the entirely different type resulting from migration or from spread of food plants such as wheat or rice, olives or potatoes, from one region to another by deliberate effort.

## The Orographical Map.

The historian who has grown accustomed to the orographical map can often see for himself the more obvious "place influences." Cracow, as an entry to the plains of Poland, and thus as a city spreading Latin or south-western European ideas into that country, is obvious at once. The contrasts are only a little more subtle between the open lowlands of the English plain, importing one phase of life after another from Gaul and from the North Sea and the highlands of Wales, influenced to some extent from the sea, but treasuring ancient survivals in their recessed refuges. The middle lowland of Scotland with its fortress capital of Edinburgh, the seat of Scotland's King and Law, preserves Scots law but, with its wide foreign connections, kills Scots speech. Wales, with its lack of a capital, but with its remote valleys radiating out to sea,

instead of concentrating to a main stream, loses its law but keeps its language. These are illuminations of historical fact by geographical thought, but the historian can see them for himself, at any rate, if he has outgrown the merely politically coloured map, which is useful only in subordinate ways.

## The Vegetational Map.

Of late years, however, geographers have pioneered in the direction of maps giving generalizations concerning the vegetation covering regions of the earth's surface, and when these maps have gained sufficient accuracy they will be singularly useful in helping us to know the place setting of human activities, and especially of social development.

The warm African desert, with its oases that long effort has made to blossom as the rose, contrasts with the scrublands of the Soudan, where precious bits of good land have been tenaciously held by territorial groups organized on a military basis, giving us the line of native states from Timbuktu to Nubia. The oak forest of Muscovy, in contrast with the hunters' lands of pine forest to the north and the lands of the nomad shepherds to the southeast, gives us a glimpse of some essential factors of the story of Russia. And we dig deeper into that story when we realize that the oak forest, but not the pine forest or the treeless parts of the grass land, has lent itself to cultivation for cereals, and so to settlements of villagers combining closely in face of the dangers of the forest. In fact, a careful vegetation map of Russia is the best guide to the history of that region and to the nature of the disunity into which it has tended to fall since 1914.

In Finland, as politically outlined, all save the

south-west is pine forest, honeycombed with lakes, and only that south-west can grow the oak. Only that south-west corner really repays cultivation of cereals, and on it stand Abo and Helsingfors. Their life is related far more to that of the Baltic than to that of Russia, partly because the broad belt of lakes and pine forests insulates them from the Slavonic world, and also preserves for them a different and very ancient heritage, physical and traditional, that for want of a better term we call Mongoloid. The settlers on the Baltic shores of Finland have contributed much to the virility of the Finnanders, but, like so many settlers from the sea (especially settlers of Norse stock), they have given up their language for that of the aborigines, whose womenfolk they have married generation after generation. One notes the merging of the Norse stock in Normandy and Sicily, for example, to such an extent that, though their physical type persists here and there, the only traces of their language are a few place-names and a very few words in local dialects. Finland, geographically and racially studied, thus comes out as an essentially Baltic unit related to the Swedish and German Baltic coasts in many cultural details, though it uses a language derived from that of Arctic Asiatic people.

We may note, while speaking of maps, that there is special need for co-operative research by historians, geographers, and anthropologists towards the creation of maps that will give as accurate and as complete a picture as possible of the circumstances of a particular region at a particular period. Historical maps at present too often merely show places mentioned in the narrative history and political boundaries of various dates.

## The Climate Map—Present and Past Climates.

Again, Pettersson's geographical studies of tides* in the Baltic, even if his conclusions may need modification, at least provide us with provisional hypotheses that make the story of the Baltic much more understandable. He begins with astronomical considerations that show how cycles of greater tides alternate with cycles of smaller ones with a periodicity of 1600-1800 years. The fourteenth century in his view was a period of great tides, and the fourth century B.C. was another such period, while the sixth to tenth centuries A.D. and the fourteenth to tenth centuries B.C. were periods of small tides. When the tides are strong much salt water flows in over the sills of the Sound and the Belts, and with the salt water the herring come in. When tides are weak the herring do not go beyond the Kattegat. Again, when tides are strong, the superficial layer of nearly fresh water in the Baltic is lifted up by the great inflow of salt water beneath, so this fresh water flows out, and only a comparatively thin layer remains, thin enough to freeze during winter anticyclones. The cycles of strong tides thus mean winters with ice-bound coasts around Scandinavia (and in northern coastal seas generally), while the periods of weaker tides mean freer navigation. It is clearly necessary not to imagine these effects as occurring prior to establishment of the existing relations of land and sea in the Baltic region.

Now, the records of the fourteenth century tell

* Pettersson, O., *Climatic Variations in Historic and Prehistoric Time.* Ur. Svenska Hydrogr-biolog Komm. Skr. v. 1914. Göteborg.

us both of the power of the Hanse based upon the herring fisheries in South Sweden, and of the hard winters with ice-bound harbours. The days of the Vikings, on the other hand, have left legendary records of free navigation even along the coasts of Iceland and Greenland. Similarly, from the Bronze Age we have much evidence of widespread intercourse with Scandinavia (about 1400-1000 B.C.), while archæology is clear about a marked weakening of the regional life after the Bronze Age was over (about 400 B.C.). Probably the history of Norway hinges upon its changes of climate, a climate at the very best hardly bringing the country near the level of a sufficiency of corn.

## Man's Alteration of the Vegetation around Him.

Reference has been made to the clearing of the deciduous forest of Europe, and the more the matter is studied the better we realize the importance of this work as an influence moulding human society in Europe. Archæologists show that the setting of villages in clearings of the forest began in the later part of the Bronze Age in Western Europe, and continued during the Iron Age, with an added impetus in the Gallo-Roman period. Farther east, in the post-Roman period, there seems to have been a great spread of Slavonic-speaking peoples down from the loess belt on the northern side of the Tatra and Carpathians into the forest which had previously been a marked barrier. Farther east still the Slavonic peoples spread on the south side of the Pripet marshes, past Kief into Tchernigov and Muscovy in the early Middle Ages, again here making villages in forest clearings.

In spite of many controversies about details, it is reasonably clear that early villages in the deciduous forest had some variety or other of common ownership of land whether or no the community was under some form of personal rule. Gonner, Slater, and others have recorded traces of this scheme of life in England, but have made it clear that we have only a small survival of the arrangements of that phase of society. France, again, has comparatively little left of the village-community scheme. Kropotkin's figures suggest that, on the whole, there is a larger survival in Germanic lands, while the "Mir" in Muscovite Russia is said to be the one form of society that is really understood by the peasantry, though it may be passing away. The suggestion is, thus, that the village-community is essentially a phase of social organization related to the earlier stages of forest-clearing, and that it has passed away bit by bit, earlier in the west, later in the east. It is well known that supersession of the village-community is connected with agricultural improvement, and here geography comes in again to tell us that Western Europe—Europe-of-the-sea we may call it—has rain at most seasons, and less than two months of frost. With these conditions the beech can grow, whereas farther east (east of the Pripet marshes), with merely short, seasonal rains and long frosts, the beech will not grow and, save when the soil is very fertile (the Tchernoziom), agriculture is less open to permanent improvement. The limit of the growth of the beech thus has interesting relations to the passing and the persistence, respectively, of the village-community idea, though no one need suggest that in this matter the physical environment is the dominant factor.

The subject just discussed has led us to a glimpse

of Poland as a frontier-land of Europe-of-the-Sea with the limit of the beech on its eastern side, a limit which is a line of thin population for other reasons also. The Pripet marshes in the centre, and the wet forests of Lithuania to the north, cannot develop large populations. Polish civilization has spread into these wild refuges, and the relations of Lithuania to Poland (providing genius as Scotland and the rest of the Celtic fringe so often do to England) become more interesting when we have the picture of the vegetative covering of the land in our mind. To the south of the Pripet marshes is the great road of the loess belt to and from the steppe-border. Poland has been a buttress of Western Europe against the Tartars of the steppe, and in the days when the Tartars have retreated we find Poland spreading its influence over the intermediate land of the Ukraine. It has brought to this work of expansion the full enthusiasm of the frontier spirit: it is the frontier unit of Europe-of-the-Sea, the frontier unit of the last phase of the European expansion of the organization of Rome.

## Gates of Civilization.

The relations of Poland to Rome and the West lead us on to another point. The Roman influence can be traced entering Poland by its two gates, visible on the orographical map. They are Gniezno, beneath the loess belt, and Cracow in the hollow between the Carpathians and the hills of Silesia. The hollow of Cracow leads west to the Moravian Gate between the Tatra and Bohemia, and so to Vienna, and ultimately to the Alpine passes and Rome, and to South Germany and France. Gniezno and Cracow are thus the holy cities of

Poland, the places of entry of that which has moulded and coloured the country's life. One may similarly discuss the sacredness of Canterbury to England, of St. David's to Wales, of Santiago da Compostella to Northern Spain, of Taxila to some phases of Indian life, of Boston—or shall we say New York ?—to the U.S.A., and so on *ad infinitum*. It is incidentally interesting here to note Havelock Ellis's statement that, whilst England remained a part of Catholic Christendom, Kent, focussing on Canterbury, was one of the fountains of English genius; it was a place of intermingling of thoughts and traditions at a focus on a world-route. Ellis finds that, since the Reformation cut us off, Kent has been far less important in this sense. These views are interesting even though they need further checking.

Here we have useful clues which could be followed up so as to illuminate many points in the artistic history of Flanders, Provence, Florence, Venice, and many another famous home of inspiration, but to do so would take too long. For in each case it would be necessary to point out the importance of the possession of a reasonable surplus of material resources, and yet to show the insufficiency of this factor of and by itself.

## Geographical Foci, and their Changes with Changed Circumstances.

Few sites have such a long chain of associations as the coasts of the Sea of Marmora. Bérard, Leaf, and others have suggested that Troy was a station on a transpeninsular route avoiding the dangerous outflowing current of the Dardanelles, and though this is open to dispute, Troy was, at any rate, a

centre for intercourse between Europe and Asia. That it was far greater than many other analogous cities is fairly clearly shown by archæology to be due to its geographical position between Thrace and Asia Minor. Hissarlik II. was destroyed *c.* 2300 B.C., but the city grew again and Hissarlik VI., Homer's Troy, was destroyed *c.* 1190 B.C. The site was never afterwards occupied to any important extent. As classical times came on, and sea trade increasingly dominated the situation, Byzantium with its wonderful harbour became the important centre. Here, then, we have history and geography helping to illuminate and interpret experience, though the part played by each is hardly distinguishable.

## Some Suggestions for Further Thought.

So far discussion has turned upon the assistance afforded to history by research into structure and topography, climate and vegetation. It has also been suggested that research into environmental changes sheds light upon the study of historical events, so that geography can do much more than help to give the background of the grim stage of history. It would be possible to add indefinitely to the illustrations of the points raised in the foregoing sections—to enlarge upon geography as an interpreter of the Old Testament, were this not so wonderfully done for us by Sir G. A. Smith in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land;* to listen to that droning of the bees on Mediterranean heaths which echoes as an undertone through Mediterranean literature; to discuss the age-long duration of Egyptian civilization and power based on the fertile ribbon of the Nile, and the equal durability

of Chinese society, again with an agricultural basis; to show forth their durability in spite of occasional upheavals of mining and manufacturing activity; to enlarge upon Shantung as a meeting-place of civilizations of different origins, and, consequently, as a source of inspiration of Chinese thought. But this would be merely multiplying illustrations.

## Local History.

One province of history stands in special need of co-operative occupation by the geographer, and that is what may be called Local History. Too often local history is conceived as a string of incidents more or less remotely connected with national history, and much more remotely connected with one another. To this is sometimes added a little folklore and some talk about local celebrities, with perhaps a few extracts from old documents. If, however, we are primarily concerned with the evolution of man and of society, with the interpretation of man's experience, local historical study may, and should, become something far greater, far richer in content. In studying our locality all the half-unconscious associations, all the subtle affections which colour experience, play their part and help us to realize that, however important logic is, life is still more. If our study of local history is wisely pursued, we shall understand more fully the richness of experience of people in other lands and other times, and guard ourselves from errors too apt to arise when we think that all things are in the province of logic.

In order to study our locality we have to start with the ordnance map, to follow the facts of the district's position, relations, dimensions, aspect,

climate, soils, drainage, and so on—in fact, the whole present physical environment. Having ascertained as much as possible of this, we are wise if we try to reconstruct that physical environment as it was before man began to clear the woods and make cultivated fields. Once this is outlined, we are more or less in a position to start following the mutual local interactions of man and environment down to the present day. How to do this is a question to which different answers are possible:. some people will like to try to wind the time-machine on from the beginning—this brings in the dangers as well as the uses of imagination; and other workers will prefer to work back step by step from the present—a method with its own dangers too. Certain it is, at least, that we shall not gain a proper appreciation of the evolution of roads, settlements, administrative units, markets, and so on, until we see something at least of the early stages of the processes whereby man cleared and settled the district first (if it be a district in the deciduous forest belt of Europe). Our old ridge-ways of unknown antiquity on the bare moorlands or the down pastures, with deep hollow-ways that lead down to hillside villages which are now little more than antiquarian curiosities, become full of meaning when we can picture our Celtic- or pre-Celtic-speaking forbears making a clearing in the forest below their older hilltop dwellings. We can picture them settling there for the winter in its shelter, and, we may guess, leaving the women and some of the men there in summer to cultivate the surrounding cornland. And the quaint hillside roads that twist into and out of the villages tell us of those villages gradually establishing communications with one another through the diminishing

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forest to obviate the need of the steep climb to the ridgeway, along a track that had probably already been worn so deep as to become a watercourse in times of heavy rains. Parallel with the hillside roads, but on the lower land, will be the turnpike roads for swifter wheeled traffic of the late eighteenth century and onwards, and there are already hints of roads with still further reduced gradients for our twentieth-century motors. The lie of the older roads, sometimes to be found only as farm tracks or belts across fields where the richer grasses have trouble to grow, often gives us boundaries of manors and of parishes. The outlines of parishes with their down or moorland pasture, their corn land beneath, and sometimes the water-meadows below these again, are all to be thought out on these lines, too. The site of the settlement will often be in the corn land, either nearer the upland or nearer the water-meadow as the case may be, and the communications it has been able to establish will determine largely whether it could or could not grow into a market town. The detailed study of the economic geography of a market town is a help to the comprehension of its history. In a good corn land the old market towns will be set close together, the radius of the market's influence being governed by difficulties of communication and the importance of the smith's and wheelwright's activities in the town, not to mention the arrangements for supply of other supplements to the farmers' life. In a sheep land, where the produce can travel on its own legs, and neither carts nor implements are so much needed, the market towns are smaller, poorer, and often farther apart. So the bourgeois population in a stock-raising region is smaller and less powerful than in a corn-growing region, and

this gives rise to differences of political outlook and of historic action. East Anglia and Northampton were largely Roundhead, Wales and the North Cavalier, with exceptions needless to say in both cases.

The enclosure movements are among the main features of English history, and no one as yet understands them adequately. To work out their effects in a locality needs careful consideration of soils and aspects, of accessibility and communications, and the progress of research is already helping us to see how different is the influence of those movements on the Red Triassic soils and, shall we say, the Oxford clay. But to make much of this, or, indeed, of any other aspect of local study, it is necessary to use the comparative method, to keep on setting one neighbourhood side by side with another in our thoughts, in order to note the resemblances and the differences between the two. More, still, is it necessary to keep in view throughout our study the greater national and world movements which have their echoes even in the remote corners of the hill-refuges of antiquity.

Strategists are often desirous of placing frontiers along watersheds which are usually only thinly inhabited, but local study on a language boundary will show that there are other considerations needing attention. The boundary between the English-using region of the Upper Severn and the Celtic-speaking Wales is not along the watershed at the top of the Berwyns, but some distance down the Severn tributaries, near the line at which the tributary valleys broaden out towards the main one. The race and language boundaries of the Mongolian peoples in Northern India are not so near to the main watershed of the Himalaya as to the foot-

hills, and the same is true, in a measure, of the Tyrol in its relation to Italy, so that a compromise is desirable which would give the German-speaking area as completely as can be done to the Tyrol without placing Italy at any serious strategetic disadvantage. The selection of proper frontiers is a duty involving much geographical study that goes far beyond topography into the mapping of economic, linguistic, and religious distributions. Mistakes in frontier selection are well known to be a frequent source of later wars, and so a prominent factor of historic change in the accepted sense.

In this way we are led from our excursus into local history back to the question of the general history of mankind.

## Geography and Government.

The study of Mesopotamia, with its potential fertility to be developed by irrigation, and of the Nile ribbon, with its need for regulation of the waters, leads us to a broader appreciation of the need for strong government in such lands for these economic reasons, as well as for the military one of protection from nomad incursions in cycles of drought. And we find a useful alternative to these despotisms in the various religious enthusiasms that have led Muhammadan, Christian, Mormon, and other sectaries, to escape persecution, and to transform a bit of desert into a garden by sheer hard work and careful water conservation. Thence arise reflections of interest, not only in connection with the past, but in connection with history now in the making in many irrigable areas of the Old World.

Accounts of societies where the desert merges

into the sown usually bring before us the domination of the tillers of the soil by the herders of the desert edge or other nomad warriors. The "sons of God" of old evidently married the "daughters of men" after conquering these men; the children of Abraham represented a similar attempt; the Arya of the scrubland of North-west India dominated that country, and were subsequently dominated by later invaders from Central Asia. Bak tribes, Mongols, and Manchus have come in successively, and dominated and organized the Middle Kingdom we now call China. Rover-trader-warriors under the name of Varangians attempted, with some measure of success, the organization of the inchoate region we have been accustomed to call Russia. The study of social relations in most of these cases shows us analogous phenomena leading to the gradual merging of the conquerors into the conquered people, each patriciate in turn fading into the plebs, while a new patriciate comes in to take its place. The ideas we gain thence are not without their applications to the history of Western Europe and of our own country, though contrasts between conquerors and conquered have usually been weaker here.

## City Maps and Civic History.

Again, if we study comparatively the maps of cities, ancient and modern, around the nomad lands of the Old World, we find, as a very general feature, an inner sacred or aristocratic city, the Kremlin at Moscow, the Forbidden City at Peking, the Imperial and Royal enclosures in ever so many conquerors' cities of the border of desert and forest in Northern India. Babylon and many another

ancient city tell the same tale, and all give us useful clues to the political character and historic action of the units to which they belong. The study of the maps of our European cities of the deciduous forest zone reveals to us, *inter alia*, the attempted synthesis of life under the ægis of the cathedral in the mediæval Paris Basin, and the progressive differentiation of function among the citizens, and corresponding differentiation of structures within the city. Near the historic war zone the belfry becomes a great feature, then, going north-east, we find the Town Hall, the Halls of the Guilds, and so on, separating out, as it were, from the Cathedral. Thus, the town-plan reveals to us aspects of the history of our cities all too difficult to trace satisfactorily without them.* The study of our industrial cities and their plans can similarly be made to yield us interesting evidence of their history, and perhaps also clues to their future development.

### Analogizing from Present to Past.

It is one of our great difficulties in dealing with the past that we so often cannot build up the picture to any degree of completeness, and that we may fail to grasp the interrelations of, at first sight, separate facts. The study, therefore, of societies which to-day show many of the features and relations we connect with past periods may enrich our picture and give us at least useful hypotheses to be tested in future work, clues that may give new and fuller meanings to documentary references we previously thought dull and formal.

* This is expanded in the writer's article on *Types of Cities in the American Geographical Review*, 1920.

In applying such ideas, however, we must beware of letting hypotheses master us; analogies are never complete, and it is probably safe to say that Nature never quite repeats herself; she is of infinite resource, whatever Thomas Hardy may think of her sagacity! We may study desert shepherds, and get insight into the Old Testament; we may study the Masai and other tribes with beginnings of agriculture and a pastoral background in order to understand our forbears of the early Iron Age in Western Europe. We may help ourselves to appreciate later stages of our own past from a study of nation-in-the-making in recent times.

New regions are often brought into the world's trade as providers of raw material, and though this is not fully correct as regards Argentina, yet that country's trade relations took an immense stride forward when she began sending stock-products in quantity to industrial Europe. Reliance on stock products meant a comparatively sparsely spread population with only small inland towns, but the out-ports, like Buenos Ayres and Rosario, grew considerably in connection with the overseas trade in the hands of Europeans, and largely of English capitalists. The analogies with Plantagenet England supplying raw wool to Flanders are important, if incomplete. The overseas trade was then at least largely in the power of the Hanse, and the growth of population in England was at one stage a growth of the staple ports, to several of which the bishops' seats were moved in Norman times. London finally established her predominant position at that time. Argentina, at her next stage, needed capital for internal development, and placed herself for the time being in the power of European capitalists, and there is at least some analogy with the

Lombards and other aliens in old England. The dependence on one industry, and a rough one at that, made for insecurity of government, periodical crises, and frequent revolutions in Argentina. Bit by bit corn-growing (maize and wheat) developed in the Argentina towards the end of the nineteenth century, and led to the growth of inland market towns, the development of internal communications, the stabilizing of the country's life. As the Middle Ages wound on in England some monastic orders encouraged agriculture, and this led to the growth of the inland population to the extent that, at the Reformation, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough became episcopal sees, and the country gained a stronger and more settled government under the Tudors. The analogies, be it said again, are far from complete, especially as development of a country under modern conditions must differ from development under mediæval circumstances.

## Economic Geography and History in the Making.

The years of crisis through which we have just passed have made it necessary to give increased attention to modern history, and to subordinate the question of politicians and their dealings to the deeper problems of economic intercourse, for which purpose the world now counts as one region and one market. In this province of work geography can help more than ever with surveys from its point of view of the economic interrelations of many lands, its estimation of possibilities of production of raw material, its arguments as to transport routes, its studies of the varying schemes of organization of

tropical production by the industrial peoples of Europe.

The sun of Western Europe is not strong enough to keep chemical activity up to a level of steady maintenance of fertility, and our agriculture, with wheat as the standard crop, tends to exhaust the soil. This was a factor in driving Western Europeans to seek a supplementary income, and so to intensify agriculture and also to develop manufactures, increasingly based upon tropical raw material. Supplementary foods and condiments have played, and will continue to play, a great part in shaping the course of history. It is an old saying, and worthy of much consideration, that the way to a man's heart is through his stomach. Geographical study is the best channel to knowledge about these tropical materials, and a study of the Hausa peoples, for example, can furnish historians and politicians with a great deal that will be of use to them in their study of the organization and development of tropical dominions, and the relations between native and European. Slavery has been proved to be economically unsound; a *laissez faire* policy towards traders, financiers, and missionaries is almost as clearly objectionable, and almost certainly unsuccessful in the long run; so foresight and planning must be our next resource, and comparative study emphasizing environmental conditions is the essential preliminary.

The question of mechanical power for industry has become specially acute, and accessible coal supplies and oil supplies in Europe and North America may not suffice to keep our dangerous industrial teetotum spinning at ever-increasing speed as it is trying so hard to do. The Alpine lands, Norway, British Columbia, India, South

Africa, and other lands, have immense sources of water power about the regularization of which we still have much to learn. The tropics, with their immense possibilities of distillation of vegetation to make alcohol, offer us one possibility of continuance, and so the distribution of the great forests, their accessibility, and so on, are matters of prime importance to those whose historical studies interest them in the details of imperial organization.

It is perhaps legitimate to say that some students of history are too apt to be misled by the glamour of diplomatic and military prestige, and [illegible]emphasize unduly the forces making for the continuance of the organization in which they are interested. A study of economic geography reveals the precariousness of the position of Western Europe, and may profitably lead to a comparison with certain agricultural civilizations which, like the Chinese, have gone on for ages and seem likely to offer a stolid resistance to the inroads of European controlled industrialism, even though they may be at a temporary disadvantage. The dependence, and in some cases one fears the parasitism, of industrial organizations upon agricultural ones is a matter for useful, if at times disquieting, reflection.

## Conclusions.

The burden of this essay may be summed up in a few short statements. Whether we are anthropologists or historians or human geographers, our main task is to understand more fully the evolution of man and of society and its organization. If that be so, then the three groups of workers can help one another to keep to the main point. Apart, we are

all in danger of being side-tracked: anthropologists into mere taxonomy, historians into a wilderness of detail about intrigues of politicians or into the narrow ruts of political partisanship, geographers into pointless descriptions or vague generalities.

Working together we can supplement one another's efforts, and make geography furnish the scene, anthropology provide the actors, and history develop the action of the long-drawn drama of human life.

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The writer of this essay has developed thoughts included in it in articles in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1916, 1918, 1920), the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (1917), *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1918 onwards), the *American Geographic Review* (1918 and 1920), and in the two following books:—*Human Geography in Western Europe* (Williams and Norgate, 1918) and the *Treaty Settlement of Europe* (Oxford Press, 1921).

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